

PREFACE

121 IN COLLECTING the data upon which this book is based, the chief concern of the investigators was to obtain a sufficiently large series of anthropometric records from each tribe in the Rif, northern Senhaja, and from the Ghomara, so that the distribution of somatological characteristics in these areas might be determined with some degree of accuracy. So much of the expedition's time was spent in this pursuit that it was impossible to secure as much data on the subjects of religion and magic as was desired. Other elements of culture, both material and social, were easier to observe and record.

128 In presenting the data so gathered an attempt has been made not only to describe but to analyze as well, and to reconstruct from the living material the natures and order of cultural and racial changes in the north of Morocco, especially in their relation to the Berber world as a whole.

114 During our travels in Morocco I have unfortunately not learned any one Berber dialect well enough to work directly in it, nor to record phonetic texts. Such fine work is the province of Westermarck, of Biarnay, and of Laoust, whose labors I hold in especial esteem. In wealth of detail, my cultural material falls short of Westermarck's and of Laoust's, especially in the fields of magico-religious practices and of agriculture. Fortunately for me I was able to work in a region which I believe neither of them has visited, and hence am able to supplement their monumental compilations with first-hand data from a fresh quarter of Barbary. The time at which the bulk of these researches were made fell just at the close of the Riffian war, after Abd el Krim's surrender and before all of the tribes had renounced their freedom. Coming at that time I was luckily able to see Riffian life still led according to the old style, for a few weeks at least, and to record by witnessing them practices and customs now forever discontinued.

000 The Spanish authorities, from the highest to the lowest in rank, received us most cordially and generously set the assistance of their military organization at our service. I can never cease being grateful to them for a consideration and kindness which must have cost them considerable work and annoyance. So great was their hospitality that to prevent it from hindering work was sometimes a problem.

As to the Riffians themselves, it would be difficult for me to praise them too highly. Their keen comprehension, ready acceptance of the purpose of our inquiries, high degree of cooperation, and generous hospitality never failed to astonish us. Spain is indeed fortunate to possess such a protectorate. Its wealth of man power, the intelligence of its people, and the natural resources of the country will in time repay her amply for the deservedly con-

CHAPTER XI

CRISES IN THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

● 128 SOCIOLOGISTS commonly recognize three major crises in the life of each individual: birth, puberty, and death.¹ Besides these major or biological crises they recognize others which lack direct biological importance, but are nevertheless sociologically of interest: naming, circumcision, and marriage. In the Rif, the first haircut should be added to the list and puberty subtracted, since no recognizable rite of passage is used to conduct the adolescent into the state of manhood or of womanhood.

In discussing these crises, my object is not so much to present a detailed picture of the ceremonies which accompany them as to work out a thorough plan of distribution for the various elements in each rite, in order to determine, where possible, the origins and relative antiquity of the various factors.

BIRTH

844 When a woman is considered to be within three days of the expiration of her term of pregnancy, the other women of her household go to the cantonal mosque and there hire a student to make out a charm which will help facilitate the birth. This charm is written, and the writing, soaked off the paper in warm water, is given the mother to drink. Care is taken to see that no knots are tied in the mother's clothing, and she is not allowed to work nor take any strenuous exercise during the last few days of her pregnancy.

On the actual day of the delivery, two midwives take charge of the situation, expelling the men of the family from the room in which the birth is to take place. One of the midwives sits on the floor, and holds the mother in her lap, in a posture half way between sitting and lying, and the mother meanwhile pulls on a rope which has been suspended from the rafters. The woman underneath her grasps her about the abdomen with both hands, helping thus to expel the child.

The Rifians explain the presence of the midwife underneath the mother by saying that it is shameful for a woman to bear a child while lying on the floor, since that is the manner of cattle.

While the mother is hanging by the rope, and the midwife under her is compressing her abdomen, the second midwife busies herself with the details of the actual delivery. When the child has been born, this second midwife cuts its umbilical cord with a pair of scissors, and afterwards goes outside, taking care not to be seen, and buries the afterbirth, the umbilical cord, and the scissors in a hidden place, which she is bound never to reveal, lest some enemy find the remains and with them wreak baleful magic upon the child.

844
557 The midwife who delivers the child and cuts the umbilical cord, and to a lesser extent her assistant, who does the heavier if cruder part of the work, is held in especial esteem by the child in its later life. The child may later even address the midwife as "mother," and

¹ A. M. Towner, *Social Origins and Social Continuities*, pp. 86-89.

[P122]

INTRODUCTION

7

The various groups of tribes, Berber and Arabic-speaking, ¹³⁴ have also more or less their peculiar customs and mode of life, but to what extent this is the case cannot, of course, be discussed in the present connection. At the same time there may also be a greater resemblance in customs between Arabs and Berbers living in the same neighbourhood than between tribes belonging to the same group. As the dwellings of the people will be frequently referred to in the descriptions of their rites or customs, it may be well to know that the Jbâla,



FIG. 4.—My travelling companions: a Rifian (left), Sidi 'Abdsalam (mounted), and two Jbâla from Andjra.

the Rifians, and the Shlôh live in houses, that most of the Arabs and the Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Ujda live in tents, and that among the Brâber some tribes live in houses and others in tents or both in houses and tents. There were nomadic Berbers living in tents before the arrival of the Bedouins.¹

I have during my journeys to Morocco studied the ¹²⁸ customs and beliefs of these various groups of people, with the exception of the Drâwa, as regards whom I have been unable to procure sufficiently trustworthy information. In this book

¹ Ibn Haldûn, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by Baron de Slane, i. (Alger, 1852), pp. 167, 177.

- 128 the Rifians are chiefly represented by the Ait Wāryāger and Ait Temsāmān; the Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda by the Ait Ubāḥḥi; the Brāber by the Ait Sāddēn, Ait Yūsi, Ait Warāin, Ait Ngēr, and Ait Mjild; the Shlōh by the Iglīwa in the Great Atlas south-east of Marrāksh, the inhabitants of Demnat and Amzmiz, the Iḥaḥan on the northerly slopes of the most westerly portion of the Great Atlas, and the Amanūz and the people of Aglu (close to the Atlantic coast) in Sūs; the Arabs by the natives of the Garbiya to the south of Tangier, the Mnāṣāra and Beni Ḥhsen on the coast between Laraiche and Rabat, the Ulād Bū'āziz and Ulād Fraj in Dukkāla to the south of Azemmur, and the people of the Hīāina in the neighbourhood of Fez; the Jbāla by the people of Andjra and Jbel Hbīb and the Bni 'Āroṣ in the northern part, and the Tsūl in the southern part of their district; and the Arabic-speaking townsfolk by the inhabitants of Fez and Tangier. But reference is also made to many other tribes and places.

- 121 In the present work I am dealing with the popular religion and magic of the Moors, not, except casually, with the general tenets and rites of Islam or those of the Mālikī school of Muhammadans, to which the Moors belong. My chief object is to give a systematic account of what I have myself seen or heard from the lips of natives. I have to some extent made use of, or referred in footnotes to, facts stated by other writers on Morocco, but in such cases I have invariably mentioned the source of information. As for the collection of my materials, I have made it a stringent rule not to accept statements of others than natives of the country, because I have frequently found those of European residents lacking in accuracy. I have further made it a rule not to use information given me about a tribe by members of other tribes, without specially indicating its more or less unauthoritative character. I have also been in the habit of repeating to my informants their statements in full so as to avoid all misunderstanding; and I have occasionally tested their trustworthiness by deliberately misrepresenting their statements, but in such cases they have never failed to correct me. The accuracy of the natives even in the smallest details
- 121
124

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

114
● 128 I must express my very sincerest and most heartfelt thanks, first of all, to Sra. Da. Agustina Moro de Blanco, the widow of Col. Emilie Blanco Izaga, who graciously allowed me to consult her late husband's private papers dealing with the Berbers of the Rif, in Madrid during February-March 1960. I must also express equal thanks to her son, Dr. D. Agustin Blanco Moro, with whom I initially corresponded in 1958 regarding his father's Rifian materials, and who kindly provided me with all the biographical data on his father; and to Sr. D. Tomas Garcia Figueras, the former Delegate of Native Affairs in Tetuan (in what until 1956 was Spanish Morocco), and subsequent mayor of Jerez de la Frontera, who, on hearing of my original interest in Col. Blanco's work, was good enough to put me in contact with his family. And, in this connection, I owe a very special debt of gratitude to Col. Blanco's charming and personable youngest daughter, Srta. Da. Emilia Blanco Moro, who went over the materials with me, and who helped me out when I was unable to read her father's handwriting, during the month I spent in Madrid. Finally, during the second, much later month of April 1970 which I again spent in Madrid, I must express my gratitude to Srta. Da. Concha Bragimo Fernandez, the head of the Africa Section at the National Library, for her assistance in that particular quarter.

122
128 I am also indebted both to the Ford Foundation, which sponsored my initial fieldwork in Morocco (1952-1955) and to the American Museum of Natural History, which sponsored my second (1959-1961) and third (1961-

122 1967) Moroccan trips; and I should add that neither of these New York
128 institutions being the owner, editor or publisher of the series in
which this monograph appears, they can assume no responsibility for
its contents - for such is entirely my own.

128 I must also acknowledge the very great help of Capt. José Rodríguez
[127] Erola of the Spanish Army, for having made available to me two unpub-
lished papers by Blanco (translated in the text) from the archives of
the Ajdir Office in the Aith Waryaghar comarcal, of which he was the
administrator or interventor, in 1955. Professor Carleton S. Coon,
Emeritus, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania (who was largely
responsible for my initial interest in the Rif as an area of fieldwork)
and Professor Ernest Gellner, of the Department of Sociology at the
London School of Economics, both gave me much advice and encouragement;
and Professor Gellner was kind enough to read and comment upon the first
draft (1962) of the manuscript. I hope that I have heeded his comments,
as my footnotes needed much pruning. And to Mrs. Don Carl Steffen, who
understandingly and uncomplainingly typed up the second draft, I owe a
very great debt indeed. The present draft is the third one. I also
wish to give credit to the late Dr. Lloyd Cabot Briggs for having
thought of the title "Colonel in the Rif."

But, always barring Col. Blanco's own family and heirs, my greatest
thanks of all must go to two persons: to 'Amar Azzugwagh of the Aith
Turirth subclan of the highland Aith Waryaghar, my mentor, initiator
and general factotum in Things Rifian, who checked over all the Blanco
materials with me point by point by point, after my return to Morocco

● 128 from Madrid late in March 1960, for errors of fact and even of interpretation. He did so with extreme patience, forbearance and humor. And last but by no means least, my thanks must go to my wife, Ursula Dorothy Kingsmill Hart, without whose constant help, suggestions and interruptions I should probably not have finished this monograph.

Although what follows represents only a by-product of my own Rifian studies, I only hope that Emilio Blanco Izaga himself would not have objected too violently to the manner, "scissors-and-paste" though it may be, in which I am presenting his work; and I dedicate, herewith, this edited and annotated translation of a particular segment of it to his memory.

Garrucha (Almeria), Spain

September 9, 1971

101
175 In 1908, the tribe which, in 'Abd al-Krim, produced both a reformer of Customary Law and a military near-genius who from 1921 to 1926 held both Spain and France at bay, the tribe which I myself studied in detail in the field, as an anthropologist, intermittently, from 1953 to 1955 and again from 1959, intermittently, to 1966; and the tribe which in 1958 to 1959 provided, through a traditional revolt championing modern objectives, the Royal Army of Independent Morocco with its first serious test of strength.

000 I assume that a good many anthropologists, in the course of their fieldwork, and in that of checking local libraries and archival materials about the tribal groups or societies that they have studied, have chanced across reports on these same tribes by previous colonial administrators of them which have been really meritorious in quality. If such is the case, many anthropologists may logically be supposed to have their "favorite" tribal administrators, district commissioners, or whatever. In my own case, Emilio Blanco Izaga, exasperating as certain facets of his writings are, is certainly the man.

128 This introduction to Blanco's work is divided into three sections: I) Biographical Data, II) The Spanish Protectorate Administration of Morocco And Blanco's Place In It, and III) A General Critique of Blanco's output as presented in this volume. This presentation is selective, not all-inclusive, because although much of Blanco's material dealt with Rifian sociopolitical institutions, not all of it did so, 121 by any means. Hence, regarding my own initial acquaintance with Blanco's work, I can do not better to quote from my original article.²

2--Op. cit., p. 173.

121 as I have had to drop the revision of my original Blanco manuscript
— in order to prepare my own studies on the Aith Waryaghar³ (or, in
Arabic, Bni Waryaghal, and in bad Hispanicized and bad Gallicized trans-
literations, "Beni Urriaguel" and "Beni Ouriarhel") for publication,
as well as because of further fieldwork elsewhere in Morocco and be-
cause of teaching and other duties. Hence a ten-year gap. In any
121 event, Blanco's copious unpublished papers on Rifian architecture and
128 house styles⁴, for example, good as they may be, have no place in a
114 work of this kind; and the same holds true for his work on grave
decorations⁵ and for his excellent treatise on dance forms in the Rif⁶.
His undeniable qualifications as an artist, whether in sketch or
watercolor form, I am simply not competent to discuss, although his
ideas about Spanish Colonial policy in Morocco⁷ will receive some
attention in Section II.

113 3--The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography, and The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: A History, to be published simultaneously under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.

4--Emilio Blanco Izaga, Ia Vivienda Rifeña, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930, *passim*.

5--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Noticia sobre Arte Funerario Norteaficano", Africa, No. 52, Madrid, April 1946, pp. 19-21.

6--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas", Africa, Vol. V, No. 55, pp. 315-316; Nos. 56-57, pp. 414-419; and Nos. 59-60, pp. 547-551, Madrid 1946. The content of this important paper is discussed in detail in my preliminary study: cf. Hart, *op. cit.*, 1958, pp. 220-237. Two of the drawings originally published in it are reproduced in the present monograph.

7--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Política Africana", Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos (pub. by Instituto de Estudios Políticos, Madrid), I, 1946, pp. 43-56.

114 of the Rif in Villa Sanjurjo (today Albucemas or El Hoceima: properly, al-Husaima) on the traditional segmentary tribe-clan-subclan-local community-lineage organization of the Aith Waryaghar entitled Las Yemias Tradicionales de Los Ait Uariaguel - the traditional local communities, or jma'ath (sing. jma'th) of the tribe in question. In this report, and in conformity with his well-chosen illustrative examples of the complex segmentation of the tribe, he recommended that the Aith Waryaghar be divided, for the purpose of a more effective administration, into three gaidates, in accordance with the natural geographical divisions of the Ghis-Nkur watershed. The report in question is translated in extenso in Book I of the text of this volume: Blanco's recommendation was implemented by the authorities in Villa Sanjurjo, and his administrative brainchild persisted until the end of the protectorate. It is, furthermore, more than probable that his promotion to the rank of major at the end of 1935 was a direct result of the way in which he had convincingly solved this knotty administrative problem.

[126] In connection with this same report, Blanco drew up a series of five excellent tribal maps of the Aith Waryaghar, showing, first, the traditional territorial-segmentary organization, then two maps showing the changes - all with a view toward greater centralization - made successively by 'Abd al-Krim during his tenure, and, finally, two more showing those imposed by the Spanish Protectorate. All are reproduced, with my corrections where needed, both in this volume and in my own 128 Aith Waryaghar Ethnography and History studies. No student of the

114 Rifians led to my interest in Blanco.

On August 23, 1945, Blanco left Morocco, never to return. He was sent to the office of the Army Chief of Staff in Madrid, which was to be his final post.

The following year, 1946, his last three published articles saw the light, two in the Madrid monthly journal Africa and the third in the Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos organ of the Institute of Political Studies, again in Madrid. The first two were ethnological in character, as befitting the journal in which they appeared, and the third was political, again befitting the second journal. Of the first two, one was a short and well-illustrated essay entitled Notas sobre Arte Funerario Norteafricano, a study in comparative ethnology. In this, Blanco compares Rifian gravestone decorations with those of two Jewish cemeteries in Shaven and Tetuan, which, as Delegate of Native Affairs, he had an opportunity to visit. The second is a much longer essay, which appeared in three instalments, called Las Danzas Rifeñas. This treatise is a definitive work on Berber dance forms in Northern Morocco, and in it Blanco reaches his artistic peak as a master of the pen-and-ink sketch. The content of the third essay, which deals in a fundamental way with the whole position of Spanish colonialist aims in Morocco, will be discussed in its proper place in the next section of this introduction.

On March 23, 1948, Blanco received his final promotion, to full colonel, but the stomach trouble he had contracted in Spanish Guinea was to prove too much for him. He died on April 29, 1949, in the Military Hospital in Madrid, at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven.

114 and 4) Noticia sobre la Yemáa Rifeña (Note on the Rifian Jma'th), which is undated but could have been written any time from about 1936 to 1940, probably closer to the latter date, and which is concerned largely with the perpetuation of the Rifian jma'th as an ongoing social unit in a modern administrative context²⁵.

There are many other papers in the Blanco collection which have some relevance to Rifian social structure, but most of these are copies of reports written by other tribal administrators which found their way into his possession. The remaining ones, the authorship of which was not indicated, were positively identified for me by Srta. Emilia Blanco Moro as not being the work of her father.

128 As may be deduced from the foregoing, I have, in working up the Blanco materials for publication, had to resort to a "maggie" or "scissors-and-paste" technique, in order to combine and recombine published and unpublished data; and no one is more aware of the shortcomings of such a method than I. But the point at issue here (114) is that the unpublished MSS. materials and the published Ley Rifeña bear a very integral interrelationship to each other, and that each of them can best be understood intercontextually, each in the context of and in terms of the other. This point will become increasingly evident through a perusal of the main body of the work. Another perhaps even more cogent reason for including a translation of LR is that, to my knowledge, there is not a single copy of this work extant anywhere in the United States. It need be said at this point

25--This paper bears the catalogue no. W1/H, in the García Figueras collection of the Africa Section in the National Library, Madrid.

128 that the responsibility both for the translation and for the arrangement of the materials is entirely my own.

114 We come now to the overall content of this work. It will soon become evident to the reader that Col. Blanco labored under a number of anthropological handicaps: 1) he was a soldier, with strictly a military mind; 2) he was evidently not fluent in Arabic, as evinced by the fact that he refers to Juan Gomez Jaen as the real translator into Spanish of the qanuns in his LR; 3) he was probably not fluent in Rifian, as evinced by his transliteration of Rifian terms in the text (many of which I have had to retransliterate); 4) he continually tried to force Rifian categories of thought into European molds; and 5) he made numerous errors of fact, mostly small, but a very few, gigantic.

These may seem unnecessarily harsh judgments to some, and it is certainly not my intention to tread on any toes. But despite Blanco's frequent errors of fact and occasional errors of interpretation, despite his tendency to romanticize the subject, and despite the strong influence exercised upon him by the work of Robert Montagne²⁶ (with whom, nonetheless, he could frequently disagree, as shown by his "rejoinder" of 1946 to Montagne's 1939 paper on Spanish African policy in the previous section: for Montagne's influence on the sociological thinking of French Protectorate officialdom was enormous), there is one colossal point in Blanco's favor: without any question, and in a very sure way, his work, throughout, creates a thoroughly Rifian mood;

[113] 26--Cf. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Félix Alcan, 1930, and La Vie Sociale et la Vie Politique des Berbères, Paris: Editions du Comité de l'Afrique Française, 1931.

121

In a Morocco which is undergoing rapid sociocultural change, there is still nonetheless a great deal to be learned, we think, at the tribal or "grass-roots" level. Bidonville or "shanty-town" sociology may, along with cit  ouvri re sociology as well, be more "topical" or "fashionable" in North African studies at present, but the notion of the tribe, the qabila or taqbilt, with the segmentary depths and patterns of kinship which this embodies, along with other possibly cross-cutting factors, is still very powerful in parts of rural Morocco, even though the present (and largely unsuccessful) Moroccan administrative concept of the "rural communes" has been

[114]

designed to unseat it. Changes in forms of social structure tend to lag well behind economic changes; and thus Blanco's contributions to the study of the sociopolitical structure of the Rif are far from untimely today, even though they date back to the 1930s. They are herewith presented, and may henceforth speak for themselves. Comments in detail, as opposed to the general comments given in this section, may be found in the notes accompanying the translated text.

128

000 arranged in spatial terms. The correspondence between a territorial system and a lineage system is always approximate, and sometimes, even, very close indeed, but it is, for a variety of reasons, never quite complete.

[114] 16--"Group" is hardly the right word to give to an institution or a socio-cultural category; but one can see that it was well intended and that Blanco was groping in the right direction. In most instances in which his choice of terms is obviously wrong, we have
[128] tried to rectify this by the substitution of other words which seem more nearly to fit the context.

[627] 17--Israbdhen, sing. amrabidh (from Arabic murabit) are saints, living or dead, who, in the mind of the average Rifian, are often confused with shurfa, or descendants of the Prophet. The role of israbdhen or shurfa as moderators in intra- or inter-tribal disputes is, indeed, [628] perhaps the primary one which they (or some of them, for there are many who are functionally completely indistinguishable from ordinary tribesmen) play in Rifian society.

[563] 18--The role of Jews in the Rif is indeed a primarily economic one--they are jewelers and pack-saddle makers, and their social status is (or was, as there are none left there today) the humblest in the area, for they never carried arms and were always under the protection of a clan or lineage headman who, if necessary, would defend them to the death. In short, they were and are despised, but their services were needed. But why Blanco mentions them, an ethnic group, in the [114] same breath with a series of economic institutions is a bit difficult to fathom.

181 19--As noted, the Rif formed an integral part of the blad as-siba, and 114 Blanco's conceptualization of Rifian society as representing an "organized anarchy" may easily, in the traditionalist frame of reference, be extended to cover the whole notion of siba. In another publication we have already set forth our views on the usual French definition of this term, which goes back to Montagne, of siba as "anarchy", a notion which seems to us, in the last analysis, invalid, implying as it does a complete lack of government (cf. David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171-237). More recently, however (and a point which we overlooked in the abovementioned article), there has been a certain modification by at least one French scholar of this traditionally accepted viewpoint-- [113] cf. André Adam, La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, vol. XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 30, and personal communication, 1959. This modification, in effect, [619] concedes that anarchy within Berber society is an inapplicable term, but that it is still valid if the society is viewed from without, or from above, because the highest organizational or structural stage which Berbers have attained is that of the tribe only, never that of the nation-state. And if we read between the lines of Blanco's words, this, or something akin to it, is very probably what he had in mind when writing of "organized anarchy".

000
• [128] 10--Blanco does not, in fact, employ the terms "levirate" and "sororate", and here I confess to having taken liberties with the text; but his meaning is abundantly clear. To readers who want refresher definitions, levirate refers to the practice of a man marrying the widow of his brother (as Coon has pointed out, in the Rif this is usually a junior levirate, meaning that the brother who does the marrying is generally a younger brother), while sororate refers to the practice of a man marrying his deceased wife's sister.

[113] 11--This is indeed true, and the only published work thus far specifically dealing with any aspect or aspects of Rifian custom, aside from Blanco's own La Ley Rifeña, is José Maria Peniagua, "Notas Sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario de la Propiedad en el Rif", Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos, no. 4, Madrid 1948, pp. 7-44 and ditto, La Prescripción y el Retracto en el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950. Paniagua's work, particularly the last-mentioned monograph, deals with problems which seem to be almost entirely constructs of a European legal mind, and have no basis in social reality; and such work cannot be considered serious contributions to the study of Berber jural systems.

12--We cannot identify the work to which Blanco refers here.

13--The only work of Sidi Ahmad ar-Rhumi which we know is the Spanish translation of his Historia de Tetuan, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, and this contains no allusions whatever, even remote ones, to Rifian custom.

671
428
171
114
562 14--This is not so. Under Shari'a regulations, women receive one-half of what men receive, in inheritance, and this is the case for both movable and real property. Granted, of course, that the point in the Rif is largely theoretical and that women in fact, as Blanco points out, generally get nothing (particularly insofar as real property is concerned), it still seems appropriate to correct this error. In any case, we have never heard of any customary variation of normal Shari'a usage, which would allot to women one-third of movable property; and neither have any of my informants. It is one-half in theory, and, as a rule, nothing in practice.

671
428
171
562 Besides the current practice of a woman's father or brothers appropriating, in effect, her share of the patrimony on her marriage (in order to keep it in family hands and to keep in-laws out), there is a second institution which reinforces the notion that women do not inherit. If a man dies leaving only his widow and a daughter or daughters (no sons), his r-waratha (sing. awrith) or remaining agnates stand to inherit, which they would not do even if he had only one son. According to Shari'a regulations, the man's widow gets one-eighth, and then, if he has only one daughter, the rest of the property is divided in half, the daughter getting one-half and the r-waratha getting the other. If, on the other hand, he has more than one daughter, the rest of the property is divided up into three parts, the daughters getting one and the r-waratha getting one. However, even if there is a son or not, certain r-waratha (e.g. mmis n 'azizi, pl. dharwa n 'azizi, father's brother's son), but not others (e.g. uma, pl. aithma, brother, and

691 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law¹⁸⁹, who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places
where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the imgharen, the
latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into
effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.
[132]

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.¹⁹⁰

● (128) For the examination of different cases which tend to come up
often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facili-
tate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground,
it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it
belongs to whoever catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

FOOTNOTES:

000

1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

• [128]

2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671

829

609

648

648

3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!"

Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a *sine qua non* that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

000

[77]

4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114]

5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114]

7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

[114]

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists.--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

000

[128]

9--Blanco terms this el pacto interfamiliar; I use "inter-lineage" in the interests of greater structural accuracy. The pact itself concerns certain lineages of the Aith Waryaghar. And, as we are dealing here with MSS., I employ standard transcription for classical Arabic.

10--This saint, as his name indicates, comes from the subsegment of Aith Zawith n Imrabdhen (Imrabdhen n Waddai), of the clan Imrabdhen.

[113]

11--In the conversion from Muslim to Christian dates, we have used H. G. Cattenoz, Tables de Concordance des Ères Chrétienne et Héjirienne, 3rd Ed., Rabat 1961, as the conversions themselves do not occur in the Spanish translation.

In this connecticut also, it is well to point out that all the qanuns begin with the phrase "Praise be to God", then get to the matter at hand, and terminate with a statement or statements by the notaries, of whom there are always two, admitting the validity of the testimony of all the witnesses present. If the qanun is signed at the end by the qadi as well, he merely confirms the document by literally putting his seal of approval upon it.

12--More often stated as Uddji wu r-haqq or yarrza r-haqq ("there is no reason" or "reason is broken"), which also alludes neatly to the fact that when a feud is on, the rhaqq fine for murder is not paid to the igharen, who themselves, of course, have picked up their rifles to participate!

13--Haqq means "law, reason, right"; and in Rifian it has the additional special meaning of "fine".

14--In Spanish, Oficina de Asuntos Indigenas.

[114]

15--It is difficult to surmise why judges of Muslim law would be "refractory" in their attitude toward markets, as through them they received their bread and butter; for the Shari'a in the tribal areas of Morocco has always been administered (where it has been applicable) in tribal markets. It is interesting, however, that Blanco attributes greater control of markets to the Rif in pre-Spanish times than he does after pacification!

16--e.g. among each other and with the provisions of the qanun about to be drawn up.

17--Not so much "mechanism" of Rifian law as the mechanics of Rifian jural procedure.

[184]

18--Among the smaller Rifian tribes, there are often tribal clans which lack their own markets; but Blanco's statement holds true for the Aith Waryaghar, which is obviously the tribe he had in mind.

19--The unpublished Conferencia sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, which forms Part II of this work.

20--Again, Blanco uses the term interfamiliar.

21--The name of this lineage is written Isaghwén in Arabic, but in all likelihood it refers to Izzugwaghen ("Sons of the red-head"), a branch of the Dharwa nj-Hajj 'Amar of the lineage of Aith Injin, of the Aith 'Aisa (r-Qman?) of Tazurakhth.

121 aimed primarily at satisfying needs and obligations which arise
105 from these activities. Distribution supports the continuation
571 of these activities and the social relationships that they help
602 establish.
433

121 The central problem I have set for myself is to describe
128 and explore all actual uses of wealth and types of exchanges in
the Rif. To the economist orientated towards the analysis of
the set of economic variables in an industrial society the method
used here may seem distant from his customary procedure. There
are few charts and no graphs. Whatever quantification that has
been achieved is the result of rough scaling. Yet such estimates
can give us an idea of the proportionate percentage of goods used
for subsistence, for ceremonial purposes, for cash from the mar-
ket, and so forth. By analyzing the relative importance of each
type of expense one can grasp the dynamics by which the system is
driven.

121 As I shall point out in the body of my thesis, the condi-
433 tions in which this economic system developed lie in the fact that
571 the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba and, as such, it was soci-
602 ally, politically, and economically detached from the rest of
Morocco. Under such circumstances, the Rif society developed
its own system of exchanges, as a relatively successful adaptation
to the absence of political integration. While political condi-
[178] tions have radically altered over the past few decades, the social
relationships, traditional obligations and expectations have
remained as major organizing principles of the Berber society.

121 Production and distribution continue to be geared to a series of
433 goals arising out of the status economy. These goals involve
128 obligations attendant to life crises (Chapter 3), incumbent on
the correct religious performer; or to placate the spiritual world
(Chapter 4), to enhance status and/or acquire allies (Chapter 5).
The relationship of the Riffian to the marketplace is described
in the final chapter.

101 The field work upon which this study is based was carried
114 out in the Province of Alhucemas in northern Morocco between June
of 1965 and November of 1966. The initial month and a half was
spent in the port city of Alhucemas arranging necessary papers
and working on the local Berber dialect. The following six months
were spent among the Beni Wariyaghar in a location of scattered
homesteads on the Wariyaghar-Igzinnayen border. The first quarter
of 1966 was spent recovering from illness. May to October was
spent in a compact village in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen. Field
work was terminated in November.

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

128 In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that
121 a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif,
571 either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated
556 by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In
454 this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion
121 play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show
128 how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian inter-
789 prets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption,
771 dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate
556 the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting
one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial
economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one
finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious
or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of
interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities
in an industrial society is proportionally small in comparison to
the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the
most frequent and common expenses.

771 In common with most world religions, Islam serves a hetero-
geneous religious community. As a consequence of this there
exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand
[771] it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

675 commercial transactions in an industrial society, legal surety in the Rif tends to be based on prestige, reputation, and status. Rights, privileges, duties, immunities, and liabilities are mostly non-contractual (excluding land titles and marriage documents).

675 Thus working associations between the wealthier and poorer men
466 of the community, whereby a laborer who provides all the work on
464 another man's piece of property and receives one-fifth of the crop, are always verbal agreements. Likewise, agreements over such a critical area as water rights, including the rotation of rights of irrigation, are exclusively verbal. Partnerships, pledges, leases, warranties and so forth are rarely 'paperized' but based, rather, on verbal agreement.

556 In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how the
554 social and cultural configuration of Berber existence affects
182 the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Among the Riffians
183 wealth as an abstract has little meaning. Wealth gains significance when it is an attribute of prestige (although prestige does not depend entirely on wealth). Prestige is gained from living by the code of the community and fulfilling one's obligations to the community. Those who fulfill such obligations have political prestige both in the realm of the Berber community and outside it. A direct consequence of this is that profit as a system of motivation has little operative or analytic value in determining what happens to material goods. Resources are not 'free'; they cannot be allocated in a social vacuum to obtain maximum financial rewards. On the contrary, resources are socially 'bound' by

Chapter 6
THE MARKETPLACE

128
443 While the preceding chapters have been devoted to distribution of wealth according to imperatives or bias arising from the social conditions of Berber life, this concluding section is devoted to exchanges which take place within the market. In it I describe the composition of the market and the interactions of its participants. I conclude with an analysis of the role of the local market in the economic and social life of the Riffian and in what ways the local Berber economy articulates with the national economy of Morocco. By doing this I hope to present a coherent picture of the integration between the indigenous exchange system and the larger national economy.

443 The characteristic form of the market, or sug, in the Rif is for buyers and sellers to come together once a week at a permanent location within each tribe or large tribal section. By holding their markets on separate days, the tribes have produced a system of staggering weekly markets all across the Rif.

[196] Thus a merchant can travel to a different sug every day of the week except Friday, the Muslim sabbath. The fellah, however, rarely engage in any market activity except at the local sug. A study of the reasons behind this will divulge many of the

443 as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and
445 spices.

443 A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe
444 owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops
which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most
of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consump-
443 tion. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is
444 in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments
452 can be spread into the future. With all the other participants
(437) of the suq, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange
of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local
tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when
people interact in the market yet are not part of the same com-
munity, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange
of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained
trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to
me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?"
There is no interest charged on such credit.

443 These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I
571 shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within
● (128) this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree,
we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the
Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers
442 do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers.
443 This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating
571 at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realises its

PREFACE

IN THIS MONOGRAPH I attempt to explain some features of the cultural geography of the northern (formerly Spanish) zone of Morocco. The work has two related themes. I have sought, in the first place, to interpret the distribution of a selected number of culture traits. My second main effort has been to determine the effects of man's activities on the land. The cultural and physical geography of the area is introduced in chapters i and ii. It seemed desirable to reverse the usual order of geographic presentation and begin with culture rather than nature, for most of the processes described in this work have been initiated by man. The discussion of culture history in the next two chapters covers two millennia. It is my conviction that cultural geography is best studied in the light of origins and dispersals, which implies an unrestricted view of the past. The historical résumé in chapters iii and iv constitutes the foundation for interpretations of modern settlement and livelihood in chapters v-vii. The sum of these studies—cultural and natural, historical and modern—provides the background for an assessment of man's effect on vegetation and soil. In chapter viii the main findings of the entire work are summarized.

In a volume of modest size it is manifestly impossible to consider all elements of the landscape. By choice I have not stressed the areas of European influence and urbanization. The focus of my interest has been in rural areas where the most important goals of life are independence and self-sufficiency. The mountainous area of northern Morocco, like the High, Middle, and Anti Atlas, has suffered little from the obscuring effects of foreign influence. The Arabs, who first entered Morocco in the seventh century, had little interest in the highlands. European colonists, concerned primarily with mechanized agriculture, also preferred lands of gentle relief. All the mountain tribes have embraced Islam, some have learned to speak Arabic, and a few have adopted the Singer sewing machine. But subsistence farming and barter still govern tribal economy, and tradition arbitrates disputes.

When a Moroccan is close to home he identifies himself as an inhabitant of a certain village or hamlet. If further clarification is necessary, he may add that he is a member of a community or canton (*farga*). He will announce his tribal affiliation (*qabila*) only when he is away from home. For example, in Alhucemas one meets members of the tribes of Ibuquyen, Aith Wariyaghar, and Thimsaman. It is only in Tetuán or some equally remote place that the same people identify themselves as Rifians. They are keenly aware of being Moroccans or North Africans only when they are abroad.

It follows that this study should begin with hamlets or cantons, and only later consider differences among tribes or confederations of tribes. Unfortunately, this procedure would be impractical. I have been compelled to limit my analysis to differences of large scale. Moreover, I have been obliged to focus my attention on variations in material culture. When a Moroccan is questioned about his neighbors, he seldom comments on the nature of their houses, clothing, or crops. His first thoughts are of personality traits, especially those he regards as objectionable. Here again, I have had to adopt a limited and somewhat distorted

121 perspective. Material traits do not include all of cultural geography, but they
128 do constitute the core of things that the geographer can study systematically.

121 The thesis of my study of deforestation is that the extent of change can be
311 roughly delimited by historical research and by observation of present trends.
In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the principal
agents of deforestation have been (1) domestic and industrial consumption of
wood, (2) burning to clear land for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable
plant material by livestock. There is evidence that each of these agents has been
active for centuries. If allowance is made for probable variations in the rate of
disturbance, tentative conclusions may be reached as to the extent of change.

104 For reasons that are painfully evident to all students of Moroccan languages
or dialects, correct transliteration is difficult to achieve. Consider the word for
"mountain." On French maps it appears as *jebel* or *djebel*; on Spanish maps it
is *yebel*. The proper English transliteration of the classical Arabic is *jabal*. But
most Moroccans know little of classical Arabic. The usual pronunciation is *jbu*,
and this is the way I have written the word. I have tried to transliterate words so
that they are intelligible to English-speaking readers. Thus the Maghribi Arabic
word for "stream" appears as *wad*, not as *oued* or *uad*. Shawen is substituted for
Chauen or Xauen, and Wezzan for Ouezzane. The variant spellings of French
and Spanish cartographers are listed in the Appendix.

101 The field work for this study was carried out from November, 1955, to May,
114 1957, under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. I wish to acknowledge my
122 gratitude to that institution for its support. I am grateful to many Moroccans
114 who helped me to understand their land and culture. Special mention should
be made of my frequent traveling companions, Muhammad Miqqi of Ktama and
128 Muhammad ben Hmid l'Arbi of Aith Seddath. I am indebted also to Charles
Sauvage of the Institut Scientifique Chérifien for assistance in the identification
of plants.

[127] Since returning to the United States, I have profited from correspondence with
David M. Hart. Mr. Hart was engaged in ethnological field work in the Rif from
1953 to 1955 and has since returned to Morocco for more extensive research. I
am indebted to him for notes on many aspects of Moroccan culture, and especially
for his advice on transliteration. The reader with prior knowledge of the litera-
ture on northern Morocco will be aware that I have derived great profit from
[126] study of the pioneer work of Carleton S. Coon. The illustrations of clothing and
house-types for chapters i and v were made from my collection of photographs
and field sketches by Iris Neff and Jacques Lemieux.

Finally, I wish to express appreciation for the encouragement given to this
undertaking by my teachers at the University of California. A preliminary
version of this study was prepared as a doctoral dissertation in geography under
the supervision of Professors Carl O. Sauer, Melvin M. Knight, and James J.
Parsons. The present work has profited from the criticism of Professors John
Leighly, Erhard Rostlund, and Clarence J. Glacken.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE "NORTHERN ZONE"

MOROCCANS refer to their country as al-Maghrib al-Aqsa: the "Far West" of the Muslim world (fig. 1). From 1912 until 1956 it was divided into three zones: French Morocco, Spanish Morocco, and the International Zone of Tangier. In March, 1956, a joint declaration was signed by representatives of France and

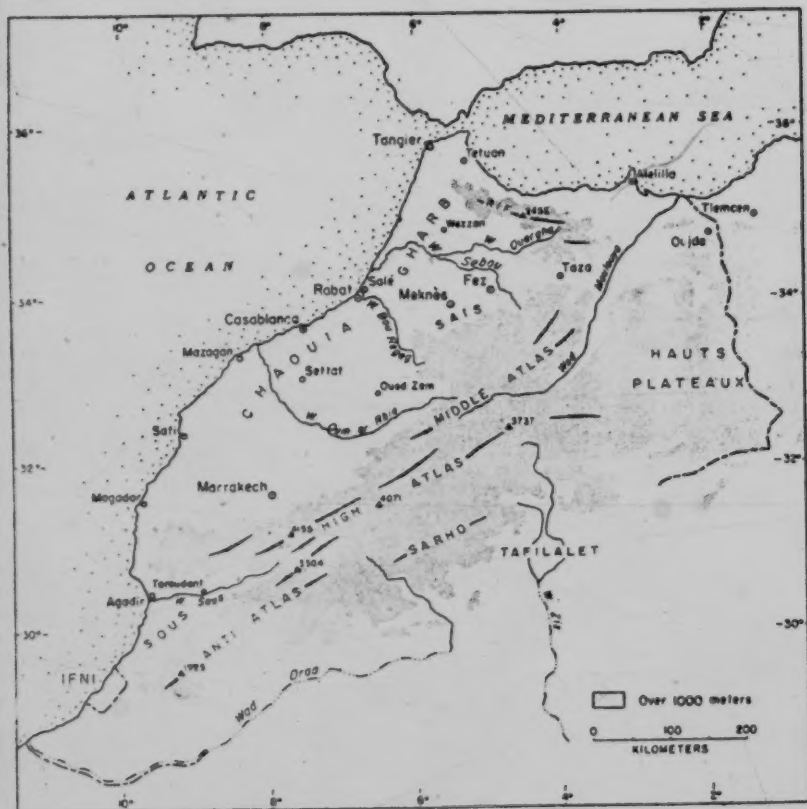


Fig. 1. Morocco: orientation map.

Morocco, restoring independence. Within a month Spain resigned its protectorate, and before the end of the year the international regime was abolished. Moroccan governors promptly replaced the European administrators. Spanish Morocco ceased to function as a separate political unit, although it continued to be recognized as the northern zone. In this study the expressions "northern Morocco" and "northern zone" refer to the area previously under Spanish and international control.

Introduction: The "Northern Zone"

5

R
 182
 1241
 234
 182
 226
 224
 few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

CULTURAL UNIFORMITY AND DIVERSITY

R
 184
 191
 In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

R
 179
 182
 191
 All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.²

R
 179
 195
 A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.³ One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

R
 601
 R
 428
 000
 113
 R
 113
 Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.⁴ The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

² D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45-54.

³ *Ibid.* p. 46.

⁴ D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a-140.